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Awake, and Look about you ;

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BRITONS

Awake, and Look about you ;

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LAND-WAR,

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Confideration of ALL *True Britons.*

By a LOVER of his Country.

*O Navis ! referent in Mare Te novi
Fluctus ; O quid agis ! fortiter occupa
Portum ; nonne vides ut
Nudum Remigio Latus,
Et Malus, celeri saucius Africo,
Autennæque gemant ? — HOR. Car. L. I. Ode XIV.*

L O N D O N:

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BRITONS *Awake, and Look about you, &c.*

AS the War wherein *Great Britain* is at present engaged, on the Continent, in Behalf of the Queen of *Hungary*, engrosses almost all our Attention, and all Conversation ; as every Company, and every Coffee-House is full of it, and a Man hears of nothing else, go where he will ; as our Countrymen are so very intent thereon, that they stand with *Ears erect*, and big with *Expectation*, each Post-Night, greedily listening what News from *Germany*, as if they thought the *Welfare*, or *Destruction* of these Kingdoms, depended necessarily upon it ; as we are likely, very soon, to be yet more deeply involved therein, and may possibly, in a little while, from being Auxiliaries to her *Hungarian Majesty*, become Principals there in ourselves, nay, shall infallibly do so, if the *same Wisdom*, which has governed our Counsels of late Years, should still have the Direction of them : As this is the Case, at present, we say, it may not be amiss, coolly and impartially to consider, what may, in *all Probability*, be the Consequence of such a Conduct ; or rather, what must *inevitably* be the

Fruits of any *Land-War*, without a kind of Miracle.

In so doing, we shall divest ourselves of all Prejudice and Prepossession ; and shall rather avoid setting some Particulars in the strongest Light they will bear, than be guilty of exaggerating them in the least ; we shall likewise take Care, not to advance any Thing, which we are not able to prove incontestably, to the Satisfaction of all those, who are not *wilfully blind*.

In Effect, the *true Interest* of *Great Britain*, is so *very obvious*, to any Person of *Common-Sense*, and *Common-Honesty*, that a Man *must wink hard*, before he can *possibly mistake it* ; and yet there are *some certain People*, whom we *don't expect to convince*, by all the Arguments we can possibly use ; nay, whom we would not undertake to convince, that the *Sun shined*, when in its full Height, on the *very brightest Day* in *June*, (though its Beams scorched every one else around them) if they were provided, with some *weighty Reasons* to the contrary, in their *Pockets*. When we say, we would not undertake to convince them, we mean, not so far as to make them *own* their Conviction ; for otherwise it is impossible, but Men, who have Penetration enough on all other Occasions, should be *inwardly persuaded* of a Truth, which *glares in the Eyes*, of all the Rest of their Fellow-Subjects ; but such is the *Force* of *Self-Interest*, such is the *Depravity* of the Generality of Mankind : To this, we *owe all the Misfortunes*, under which we have *groan'd*, and *languish'd*, for these Twenty Years last past ; and to this, it is to be feared, we shall still *owe many more*.

To prevent this, however, as much as lies in our power, and warn those, whom it may chiefly concern,

concern, what Dangers may reasonably be apprehended, from the present Situation of our Affairs, is the honest Design of the following Sheets; and if, afterwards, they will run headlong upon their Destruction, though we may ourselves be involved in the general Ruin, together with them, we shall yet have the melancholy Consolation, of having done all, that in us lay, to alarm them, and put them upon their Guard, notwithstanding our Endeavours have prov'd ineffectual.

When a Person has the Misfortune, to be embark'd in a Vessel, which is *curst* with either an *ignorant* or *knaveish* Pilot, who, thro' *Want of Skill*, or which is as bad, *Want of Honesty*, he fees, is running her on a Shoal, where she must *inevitably be wreck'd*, (hoping to secure himself in the Boat) would it not be such a Person's Duty, though he should be but a Passenger, even for Self-Preservation, to warn the Ship's Crew of their Peril; and to endeavour to spirit them up, to save themselves by *wresting the Helm* out of such *weak* or *wicked Hands*? Nay, would he not infallibly do so, if he were truly sensible of his own Danger; unless we could suppose him to be as *stupidly indolent*, as the Man in the Storm, who being told the Vessel was sinking, and desired to help pump, in order to save her, answered very carelessly, *What is it to me, I am but a Passenger?* We take our Case, at present, not to be very different from this, and therefore are not willing to have it to reproach ourselves, that we acted the same *stupid and indolent Part*, with the Wretch before mentioned; but, to return from whence we have digressed.

That we may be the better able to judge, what must be the probable Consequences of any *Land-*

War, it will be necessary to consider, *First*, What is *the true Interest* of these Kingdoms? *2dly*, In what their *natural and principal Strength* consists? *3dly*. How far their *true Interest* can be *advanced* by a *Land War*? And *4thly*, how far their *natural Strength* is *consulted* and *exerted* in such a *War*.

To begin, then, with the *first* of these, it will hardly, we believe, be disputed, that as *Great-Britain* is a trading Nation, the *true Interest* of these Kingdoms is, to *advance* and *extend* our *Commerce*, with all *possible Industry* and *Diligence*; and to *cultivate* and *improve* those *natural Advantages*, with which *Providence*, (kinder to us than we deserve,) has *peculiarly blessed us*, as far as they are capable of *Improvement*. This being the Case, as undoubtedly it is, nothing can be more evident, than that we ought to *cultivate the Arts of Peace*, by which alone Trade flourishes; and that we ought never to *engage in any War*, unless it be in Defence of our *just Rights* and *Liberties*, or to prevent a *manifest* and *otherwise inevitable Danger*; and even in that Case, it is demonstrable, we never ought to involve ourselves in a *Land-War*.

That peaceable Times only are proper for the *Advancement* and *Extension* of our *Commerce*, is what surely will not be denied, by any Man in his Senses; it is a self-evident Axiom in Politicks; but, when we say so, we would not willingly be misunderstood. In Effect, when we use the Term *Peace*, we do not mean such a one, as we *groan'd under*, for many Years, before the Declaration of War with the *Spaniards*; when they *insulted* and *barrafs'd* us, as they pleased, with Impunity, whilst our *Hands were ty'd up*, from either *offending them*, or *defending ourselves*. Neither do we mean

mean such a Peace, as leaves any, even the *most distant Pretence*, for *keeping up, at Home*, a *numerous Body of Land-Forces*; no, such a Peace is rather *more destructive* than a *War*; it has *all its Disadvantages* without any of its *Advantages*. On the contrary, the *Peace* we mean, is such a one, as not only eases the People of the *most burthensome Taxes*, such as those upon *Coals, Candles, Soap, Leather*, and in short, all the *immediate Necessaries* of Life; but admits of the Reduction of our Army at Home, to the same Number, as it consisted of in the Time of *Charles II.* or, if that be thought too severe, as it was in the Reign of *Queen Anne*, even whilst we were engaged, as Principals, in one of the most vigorous and bloody Wars, that ever was known in *Europe*.

We take it then for granted, that we can never *advance and extend our Commerce*, but whilst the Nation *enjoys a solid and lasting Peace*; and this for divers unanswerable Reasons. That we can never do it in a Time of War is indisputable; for so far are we from being able so to do, that we always find it evidently decline; nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the *great Charge of Convoys*, the *tedious Delays* frequently attending them, and the *heavy Taxes almost inseparable* from a State of Hostility: In a Word, it has ever been allowed, that as *Plenty* is the *constant Attendant* of *Peace*, so *Poverty* is the *never-failing Companion* of *War*; which proceeds, entirely, from the *certain Stagnation of Trade* under the latter, and its *prosperous and flourishing Condition* under the former.

Nor is it only when the Nation is at open War, that our Trade can neither be *advanced nor extended*, it will labour under almost as many Dis-

advantages, nay, in some Respects, under more, whilst we enjoy but a *precarious*, or *nominal Peace* ; because, at such Times, *Pretences* will never be *wanting*,¹ for keeping up a *numerous Body of Land Forces*, besides *considerable naval Armaments* : And as all this cannot be done, without putting the Publick to an excessive Expence, to defray which, *heavy Duties* must be laid either upon the *Necessaries of Life*, or on *divers Sorts of Commodities*, and perhaps upon *both* ; it is evident, the Manufacturers will not be able, to afford their respective Goods so cheap, as when they don't *groan under* such Burthens ; by this Means, our Neighbours will be enabled to *under-sell* us at *foreign Markets*, and consequently our Trade must inevitably *languish* and *decline*.

Of this melancholy Truth, we have lately had but too undeniable Proofs, for very near Twenty Years, during which we were told, that we enjoy'd a Peace, but had never been without a *numerous standing Army*, and *formidable Squadrons* at Sea ; tho', for that Time, we heard of nothing but *perpetual Depredations*, and *outrageous Insults*, with *ridiculous* and *useless*, nay, what is more, *dishonourable*, *destructive*, and *fatal Expeditions* : Not to mention *long* and *unnecessary Embargoes*, with the frequent issuing of *Pres-Warrants*, (often *most unwarrantably* put in Execution,) for no other *visible Reason*, but to *distress* the Merchants.

As this was necessarily productive of *heavy Duties*, and *most burthensome Taxes*, cou'd it be expected, that *Trade* should any Ways *flourish*, during *such a Peace* ? On the contrary, was it at all surprizing, that it should *visibly decline* ; or that several Branches thereof should be almost entirely lost, and that our *wiser* Neighbours should have

have worm'd us out of them? No, *this was* what every Man of *Common-Sense* foresaw, but all this could not *prevail*, on our *honest Premier*, to take *more salutary Measures*; in Effect, it is a general Rule, which will eternally hold good, at all Times, and in all Nations; that as a *wise and upright Minister* will always conclude a *lasting Peace*, or *push on a War vigorously*, unless reduced, by the Success of the Enemy, to accept of disadvantageous Conditions; so a *weak, wicked, and corrupt one*, will be continually *patching up precarious Treaties*, or, if *forced into a War*, will carry it on in a *languid, cowardly and inglorious Manner*. Again, a *Wise Minister* will always endeavour to *ease and unite the People*, as much as possible, whilst a *blundering Profligate*, when at the Helm, will be continually *studying, and contriving*, to *load and harass* them with *intolerable Imposts*; which he will likewise attempt to *have levied*, in the *most vexatious and oppressive Manner*; as this unhappy Nation has more than once experienced, to her Cost.

From what has been premised, we think it demonstrable, that neither a Time of *War*, nor an *unsettled Peace*, can be proper, for the *Advancement or Extension* of our *Commerce*; and consequently, that the *true Interest* of these Kingdoms, must *necessarily suffer* during either. It is true it may so fall out, that Things may be brought to such an *unlucky Crisis*, as to render a *War unavoidable*, and even *advisable and eligible*, as happened lately with Regard to *Spain*; but then, it must be observed, that this is only to *prevent a greater Evil*; and is almost always the *Consequence*, of some *previous Mismanagement*, and *Male-Administration*; as was likewise the Case with Respect to that War; and will again be, if

we should be soon engaged, in an open Rupture with *France*.

In Effect, it is evident, had we not attack'd the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, in 1718, or had we afterwards accepted of the *Mediation* between *France* and *Spain*, upon the Difference that happen'd between them, on sending back the *Infanta*, we should have been so far from meeting with the same ill Usage, as we have since experienced from the Court of *Madrid*, that we might almost have made our own Terms with them, and have had all imaginable Indulgence, in our Trade to the *West-Indies*.

Again, it is as evident, had we kept a watchful Eye, upon all the Steps of *France*; had we shewn ourselves disposed to act with Vigour, if ever she gave us the least Cause of Complaint; had we declared, upon her first Attempt, to repair the Fortifications, or Port of *Dunkirk*, that we should look upon it as a Breach of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and take our Measures accordingly; had we guarded well, against her stealing our *Wool*, running in her own *Brandies*, *Teas* and *Cambricks* upon us, or inlisting our Men to recruit her *Irish* Regiments, we should have had no Reason now, to dread her exorbitant Power; nor would she have dared, to behave, as she has of late Years, had not we acted with so much Supineness and Indolence.

Notwithstanding, therefore, it was requisite, about four Years ago, to declare War with *Spain*, and it may be as requisite, very soon, to come to Hostilities with *France*; this will not prove, that it is the true Interest of these Kingdoms, to be at Variance with either of them; but only that we had brought ourselves, by our blessed Management, into such a *hopeful Condition*, that it was necessary

fary to have Recourse to Arms, to extricate us out of it, and *obtain Redress*; as a Man, who had a *gangreen'd Limb*, would consent to have it *scarify'd*, or even *cut off*, in Order to save his Life, and recover his Health. When any one, by his Debaucheries, or irregular Living, has brought a Surfeit, or Fever upon himself, it will certainly be requisite for him, to have Recourse to proper Remedies, *however unpalatable*; and it may then, in one Sense, be said to be his *true Interest* so to do; but will not every one allow, it would have been much more his *true Interest*, to have preserv'd his Health, whilst he enjoy'd it, by *Temperance* and *Sobriety*? In the like manner, when a Nation has been brought into desperate Circumstances, by *weak*, or *corrupt Management*, it may be *necessary* and *advisable*, to have Recourse to *Arms* to retrieve them; and consequently this may be then said to be her *true Interest*; but does not every one see, it would have been much more her *true Interest*, to have prevented her being brought into such a Case, by *prudent* and *salutary Measures*? *War* then can never, with any *common Sense*, be said to be the *true Interest* of these Kingdoms, but when it is to *avoid a greater Evil*, as, to *prevent the Invasion of our just Rights*, or for the *Protection of our Commerce*: Whether both these might not better be effected by a *vigorous* and *wise Conduct*, is what we shall not at present inquire into. Suffice it now for us, that we have shewn, the *Advancement*, and *Extension* of our *Trade*, to be the *true Interest* of the *British* Nation; suffice it, that we have likewise shewn, this cannot be expected, either while we are in a State of War, or whilst we enjoy but a precarious or nominal Peace, and this for divers obvious

Reason

Reasons ; it will necessarily follow from hence, that we ought never to come to Hostilities, but when our Forbearance will be attended, with yet worse Consequences than a Rupture ; and it will still more necessarily follow from hence, that we ought never to engage in *such a War*, as, *whether successful or not*, can never prove *advantageous to OURSELVES, whatever it may to OTHERS* : but of this more hereafter.

Come we now to consider, in what the *natural and principal Strength* of these Realms consists ; for, as to the *Cultivating and Improving* those *natural Advantages*, with which Providence has *peculiarly blessed us*, they almost necessarily follow, from the *Advancement and Extension* of our *Trade*, unless we wilfully shut our Eyes : In Effect, all the four Particulars, which we have proposed to weigh, are, in a great Measure, connected and interwoven with each other, though, for the better Illustration of each of them, we have thought proper to take a View of them, under as many several Heads.

The *natural and principal Strength*, then, of these Realms, (and, indeed, of every State) consists, *first*, in a *mutual Union of the Subjects among themselves*, and the *Establishment of a reciprocal Love and Confidence* between the *Prince*, and his *People* : *2dly*, In our being always able, to fit out such a *formidable Fleet*, when ever it is requisite, and that at as *short a Warning* as possible, as may *strike a Terror* into our *Enemies* : And *3dly*, in the *Number of brave Inhabitants*, wherewith these Islands are bless'd. That our principal Strength consists, in our being at *Unity amongst ourselves*, is what we believe, will scarce be denied by any one ; and consequently we should think it quite needless, to advance any Arguments

ments in Support thereof ; especially after we have had the Authority of our Saviour, to confirm the Truth of it, who expressly tells us, *a Kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.*

We say, We should think it quite needless, to multiply Words, in Support of this Axiom, but that a *bellish Doctrine*, has been industriously propagated of late Years, that it is *necessary*, to keep up the *odious Distinctions* of *Whig and Tory*, *High and Low Church*, for the *Security* of the *Protestant Interest*, and the *Succession* of the *Crown* in the *present Family*. That this Doctrine smells strong of the *infernal Pit*, every one must see ; for, that *all Division* proceeds from the *Devil*, no one can deny ; what, then, do *these Monsters*, *these Prostitutes*, mean ? They would not, they dare not, sure insinuate, that there is no Way of supporting the *present Succession*, but by going to the D——l ; (and yet that is the *direct Consequence* of this villanous Doctrine ;) if so, we must think we have *bought it very dear* ; though, we will not venture to say, even if that is the Case, that we might almost as well have trusted Providence with our Safety, because we know not what *Construction*, a *profligate Sp—c—l J—y*, tutor'd by a *thorough paced A—y G——l*, and directed by an *obsequious B—nch*, might be induced to put upon it. In Effect, this would be carrying our Attachment to the Government a very great Length indeed ; for, though we have heard, that we ought to venture our Lives, for the Preservation of our King and Country, which certainly is but reasonable, we never heard 'till lately, what this Doctrine evidently inculcates, that we ought to *hazard our Souls also for them.*

How unlikely soever, such *absurd Tenets* were, to prevail on any Man of *Common Sense*, we have
seen

seen them *too successfully inculcated*, for many Years, particularly about the Time of Elections, (by those two *abandoned Prostitutes*, Messieurs *Walsingham* and *Osborn*,) to prevent a *Coalition of Parties*; and hinder the Dissenters from *uniting*, with the Rest of their *independant Countrymen*, against the *great Leviathan*, who so long *oppressed us*; and whose *Safety* depended entirely, upon our being a *divided People*. But, though the Security of a *wicked Minister*, may depend upon our Divisions, that is, in other Words, our Unhappiness, it is very evident the *Welfare, Grandeur and Prosperity* of the *present Royal Family*, is *interwoven* with ours; our Interests are the same, and can be promoted by nothing so much, as an *Union* among ourselves, and a *reciprocal Love and Confidence*, between our *Sovereign* and his *People*. Whoever, therefore, by *wicked or weak Counsels*, goes about to *lessen this*, or to set the Nation at Variance amongst themselves, must have some *sinister Ends*, that will not *bear the Light*, and is *equally a Traitor* to his Prince and his Country: Thus much we thought it necessary to say, in order to send that *bellish Doctrine* back, to the Pit from whence it came, and prevent its ever being broach'd again amongst us.

Having thus demonstrated, that our Strength consists, chiefly, in our being united, we shall next proceed to shew, that it consists likewise, in our being *able* to fit out, on any Emergency, and at a *short Warning*, such a *formidable Fleet*, as may *strike a Terror* into the *boldest* of our *Enemies*. This, we think, will never be denied by any one, who considers *first*, that we are a *trading Nation*, and must *depend* upon our *Navy*, for the *Protection of our Commerce*; and *2dly*, that we are *surrounded by the Sea*, and, consequently can neither
be

be invaded ourselves, nor attack others, but by a naval Armament. In Effect, whilst we are Lords of the Ocean, and united at Home, we may safely defy all Europe, though they should be combined against us ; and there is more Truth, than most People are aware on, in those admirable Verses of Mr. Waller ;

LORDS of the World's great Waste, the
OCEAN, we

Whole Forests send, to reign upon the Sea ;
And ev'ry Coast may trouble or relieve,
But none can VISIT US without our Leave.
ANGELS and WE have this PREROGA-
TIVE,

That none can at our happy Seat arrive ;
Whilst we descend, at Pleasure, to invade,
The Bad with Vengeance, and the Good to aid.

HAPPY, HAPPY Britons, did we know wherein our chief Strength and Happiness consists, and did we exert and promote it accordingly ! What might not a King of Great Britain, supported by an united and affectionate People, and truly consulting and promoting their mutual Interest, be able to accomplish ? We had almost said, he might be able to give Laws to all Europe. In Effect, as Trade is the Source of Riches, and Riches the Source of Power, and we have such infinite Advantages over the Rest of Mankind, not only by our happy Situation, but by the Product of our Country, and which is not the least, our excellent Constitution, it is evident, to a Demonstration, we might almost engross the Wealth of the Universe. The Spaniards would be but our Factors, and would possess their Mines, not so much for themselves, as us ; nor would even the Dutch be any Thing better, since they could not carry on their East-India Trade, without our Permission ;
and

and the *Product* of their *Spice Islands* might be *more ours* than *their own* : In a Word, we might enjoy *all the Advantages* of that *Commerce*, without the *heavy Clog*, of those *exquisite Monopolists*, (the *perpetual Tools* of a *corrupt Ministry*,) the *East-India Company*.

Come we now to consider, the third Article, wherein *our Strength* consists, namely, in the *Number* and *Bravery* of our People : And this, we think, is a Point almost self-evident, and not to be contested ; it being generally agreed, that not only the Strength, but the Riches of a State, consists in the Number of its Inhabitants. Accordingly, the *Dutch*, as politick a Nation as any in *Europe*, never refuse to naturalize as many as desire it, nor to receive as many as will settle there. It is true, indeed, they will take Care, not to have any *useless Hands* amongst them, to lie as a *dead Weight* upon the *Industrious*, and they are to be commended for it ; if any, therefore, come thither, and neither bring with them, a Sufficiency for their Maintenance, nor are able to subsist themselves by any Business, they are sure to provide them both Work and Sustenance, by putting them into their *Rasp-Huys*, which answers to our *Bridewells* ; in which Piece of sound Policy, it would be well, if we follow'd their Example. Taking it then for granted, that the Strength of any State consists, in a great Measure, in the Number, and Bravery of its Inhabitants, we shall only observe, that *Great-Britain* is the most populous, and warlike Nation that is, or perhaps, ever was, for its Extent ; that in *England* alone, exclusive of *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, we are reckoned, at the lowest Computation, to amount to seven Millions of Souls ; and that, consequently, the Number of able-bodied Men, computing them at the
Proportion,

Proportion of one Fourth, is one Million seven hundred and fifty Thousand ; out of which might be spared, in Case of Necessity, a Force more than sufficient, not only to repel all Invasions at Home, but to man such a Navy, as with proper Orders, would spread a Terror, and exact Submission, wherever it appeared ; such a Navy, as would be able to verify that fine Compliment, of the above mentioned Mr. *Waller*, to *Oliver Cromwell* ;

*Where'er thy Navy spreads her Canvas
Wings,
Homage from all, and Wealth to thee she
brings.*

Another Circumstance wherein our Strength consists, and which we forgot to insist on before, is our being *surrounded by the Sea*; and, consequently, *not liable to any Invasions by Land*, nor obliged to keep up any standing Army, or fortify any of our *Inland Towns*. This is such a considerable Advantage, as we can never too thankfully acknowledge ; especially as we are a *Protectant Nation*, and there is a *Pretender* to the Crown of these Realms, a *bigotted Papist*, who would, otherwise, have been, long ago, supported, with a Force sufficient, to over-run these Kingdoms ; whereas we are now more than a Match, for the utmost Power, all our Enemies, in Combination together, can possibly send against us.

We have now considered the several Particulars, upon which the Strength of these Kingdoms principally depends ; let us next examine, how far *our true Interest* can be advanced by a *Land-War*. We have already shewn, wherein *our true Interest* consists, namely, in the *Advancement and Extension of our Commerce* and in *Cultivating*

ting, and Improving, the natural Advantages, wherewith Providence has peculiarly blessed us. We have already shewn, and we hope to a Demonstration, that any War is diametrically contrary to the Advancement or Extension of our Trade, as it must necessarily occasion heavy Taxes, to defray the Expences of it ; and these Taxes, whether laid upon the Necessaries of Life, or upon our Manufactures, must inevitably raise the Price of them ; and consequently enable our Neighbours, who are our Rivals in Trade, to undersell us, at foreign Markets.

But, if any War is contrary to the Advancement of our Commerce, it is certain, a *Land-War* is much more so, as it is vastly more *expensive*, and *destructive*, by draining us more, of our most useful Men, and our Money, than a War by Sea can do. It cannot therefore be pretended, with any Shew of Reason, that the Prosperity of our Trade is consulted by such a War. As little can it be pretended, that our natural Advantages will be either cultivated or improved thereby ; it would be the Height of Assurance to affirm it. In Effect, will any one pretend to say, that our *Woollen Manufactory* at Home, will flourish the more for a *Land War* ; that there will more Hands be employ'd therein ; that it will meet with more Encouragement ; or that a more effectual Stop will be put to that pernicious, and destructive Practice, of Owling, or exporting our Wool, either to our open Enemies, or, which is as bad, our false Friends. We believe, no one will offer, to assert any thing so absurd. Again, not to descend to any more Particulars, will any one aver, that our *Fishery*, especially the *Herring - Fishery*, that beneficial Branch of our Commerce, which courts us, in a manner, at our own Doors, will be either cultivated,

ted, or *improved* during a *consuming Land-War*; no one sure will dare to advance any thing *so improbable*; the Absurdity of it would stare every one in the Face; we think, therefore, we need not multiply Words, to prove that our *true Interest*, can never be *consulted*, or *promoted* by any such Measure. No, no, it is very evident, whoever's *Advantage* may be *taken Care of*, by such a Conduct, that of *Great-Britain* must *suffer egregiously*, and be *altogether neglected*.

Proceed we now to consider, how far *our natural Strength* is *exerted*, or *consulted*, by a *Land-War*. We have already shewn, that the *natural Strength* of these Realms consists, in the *mutual Union* of our *Fellow-Subjects* amongst themselves; and the *Establishment* of a *reciprocal Love*, and *Confidence*, between *our Sovereign* and *us*: Now let us see, how these *two desirable Ends*, are *promoted*, by *engaging us* in a *War*, upon the *Continent*.

That a *Land-War* lies *heavier* upon the Subject, than any other, is *manifest* for several Reasons; but, to instance only one, it *drains* us more, not only of our *most useful Hands*, we mean, our *most able bodied Men*, but, as if that were not enough, it exhausts *our Money* also; which is *sent abroad*, to *maintain* our *Troops*, and *never returns* to us again: Whereas, in a *War by Sea*, we can never *lose so many Men*, and far the *greatest Part* of *our Money* is expended *at Home*, amongst ourselves. Now, how *our natural Strength*, can be said either to be *consulted*, or *exerted*, by a *War*, which *must impoverish* us *sooner*, and *more* than any other, we must confess ourselves at a loss to discover. That it might possibly occasion a *mutual Union*, amongst our Countrymen, we will not pretend to deny; but then it would

be *such an Union*, as, how *desirable* soever *UNITY* may be, would be neither to be *wish'd for*, nor *coveted* ; in short, it would be only an *Union of Complaints* ; an *Union in detesting, execrating and abominating*, all those *weak, or wicked Counsellors*, who *projected, or agreed to*, such a *destructive Measure*.

Again, how can this conduce to the *establishing a reciprocal Love and Confidence*, between the *Prince and People*, we cannot possibly see ; but it might probably produce a *quite different Effect* : It might create an *almost unsurmountable Mistrust and Diffidence* between them, which could not but be attended with *very melancholy Consequences*. For, on the one Hand, when the Nation saw their Sovereign pursuing such Measures, *incompatible with their Welfare*, would it not be natural for them to imagine, he had been persuaded, his Interest was very different from theirs ? On the other Hand, when the Sovereign found his Subjects, *utterly averse to, and murmuring at*, those *Proceedings*, which he had been made, though *falsely*, to believe, were most for his Advantage, would he not be tempted to suppose, they were, at least, *somewhat disrespectful* ; if he did not go yet farther, and suspect them of *Disaffection* ? It is very evident, nothing could be more natural on both sides ; and what might be the *Consequence*, of such a *mutual Jealousy*, we tremble to think ; we shall, therefore, only say, Heaven forbid, such a Misfortune should ever befall us ! However, should we ever be so unhappy, as no one can tell what may happen hereafter, it is most certain, whoever were the *Advisers* of such a *pernicious Conduct*, or whoever agreed thereto, whether it were through *Weakness, or Wickedness*, whatever might be their Motives, nothing can be

be more clear, than that they would be *equally Traytors* to their *King and Country*; it being an *undeniable Truth*, that the *surest Support* of a *Throne*, is *the Love* of the *Subjects*; which can never be *preserved*, but by *pursuing such Measures*, as are *compatible with*, and *conducive to* their *Welfare and Prosperity*.

Another Point, wherein *our natural* and *principal Strength* consists, is, in our being always able, to fit out *such a formidable Fleet*, at a *short Warning*, as may *strike a Terror* into the *boldest of our Enemies*, and *maintain our Empire on the Seas*. This is an Article that never was disputed by any one; and this, being the Case, how can it be pretended, that we either *consult*, or *exert*, this *natural Strength*, by a *Land-War*? Or, how can it be said, that *such a War* conduces towards *asserting our Dominion on the Seas*? Is it not evident, that it cannot do either of these? And, consequently, is it not evident, that, by carrying on a War upon the Continent, we should give our Enemies a *great Advantage* over us, and *neglect* that very Circumstance, wherein alone *our Superiority* consists. In Effect, does not every one know, that we are *not able* to cope with them *by Land*, unless we are *vigorously supported* by a *very powerful Alliance*, which is by *no means* to be *depended on*; whereas we are *singly more than a Match* for them, upon the watry Element? It must, therefore, be little less than *Infatuation*, should we engage in a War, wherein we should *labour under all Manner of Disadvantages*, whilst, by attacking our Enemies by Sea, we should be able to do them *infinitely more Prejudice*, and reduce them *to Reason much sooner*, with incomparably *less Hazard*, and *Expence*, to ourselves.

A third Point wherein our Strength consists, is, in the *Number* and *Bravery* of our Countrymen ; but this, though an exceeding great Advantage, if *rightly managed*, as to *defend* ourselves *when invaded*, to *man* our *Navy*, or to carry on our *Manufactures*, &c. can be but of *little Service* to us, if we *pursue wrong Measures*. For Instance, in Case of an *Invasion*, it would be impossible for our Enemies, if they should escape our Fleet, to pour in so many Men upon us, but what we should be able, by our Numbers, to cut them all in pieces, in a few Days, were we but *united*, and our Militia ever so little disciplined. Again, were it necessary to carry on a Sea-War, we have Hands *more than enough* to *man* our *Navy*, and *defeat any Force*, that could be brought against us ; not only so, but whatever Losses we might suffer in such a War, we should be able, for many Years, to find sufficient Numbers to recruit them, and all this without *so far draining* our Country, as to leave it destitute, of the Hands requisite, for *Tilling the Ground*, *carrying on our Manufactures*, and such like necessary Uses.

But the Case would be *widely different*, should we resolve to *attack a Power*, by *Land*, whose Dominions, being of much *larger Extent* than these Realms, should enable him, not only, to send his Hundreds of Thousands into the Field, but constantly to *recruit*, whatever Losses he might suffer, by *Defeats*, or *Desertion* ; as *populous* as these Kingdoms are, we should soon find ourselves no Match for such an Enemy ; for, though we might, at first, be able to oppose him with as numerous an Army, the many Thousands it would require each Campaign, to keep it up, would be such a *continual Drain*, upon our Country,

Country, as must leave it, in a Manner a *deserted*, in a few Years, and *exhaust* all the *Flower* of the Nation : So that we must, at last, *sink* under the Burthen, whilst our Enemy, though he might *suffer equal*, or even *greater Losses* than ourselves, might be able, through the greater Extent of his Dominions, not only to retrieve, but to bear up under them, and, in the End, *overwhelm us*, by meer Dint of Numbers.

A *melancholy* and *fatal Example* of this Truth, and at the same Time, an *useful Lesson* to all succeeding Princes, we have seen, within our Memory, in the Person of the *unfortunate*, and *ill-advised* Monarch, *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden* : Who, though he met with *uninterrupted Success*, for many Years together, against all his Enemies, had so *effectually exhausted* his Country, by his continual Wars, that, upon his receiving *one single Defeat*, at *Pultowa*, he was *irrecoverably ruined* ; whilst his Enemy, the *Czar*, though he had been *constantly worsted*, in every Engagement, and on all Occasions, was enabled, by the superior Extent of his Territories, not only to *bear up* under his Losses, but, at last to *vanquish his Conqueror*. Should any one alledge, that this Hero's Ruin was not owing, to his attacking a Prince, so much his Superior, by his vast Dominions, and the Numbers of his Men, but to his retiring into *Turkey*, we beg he would consider, that, by all Accounts, his Kingdom was *so much drained* of its most useful Hands, that the *very Women* were forced to *till the Ground*, *drive their Carriages*, *ply* upon their Rivers, and, in short, perform all those *laborious Offices*, for which the *most robust Men* alone were proper ; that, consequently, had he not *taken Refuge* in *Turkey*, had he even *continued successful*, for some Time longer,

his *very Victories* must have *undone* him, in the End, by *depopulating* his Country; which has not yet recover'd, the Damage it suffer'd, by so *imprudent a Conduct*.

Another material Point, wherein our *principal Strength* consists, and to which we ought to have an Eye, in all our Undertakings, is, that we are Islanders, surrounded by the Sea; *an Advantage*, without which, all others *would avail us very little*. But this Advantage, how great soever, may be render'd of no Effect, by ill Conduct: For Instance, the *same happy Situation*, which renders it *impossible* for any, or all our Enemies, to *invade us*, with any Probability of Success, provided we are tolerably united, renders it *equally impracticable* for us, to make any Attacks upon them by Land, without labouring under all Manner of Disadvantages. The only War, from which we can promise ourselves any Success, or derive any good, is a War by Sea; by such a War, we can *annoy* our Enemies more, than by any other; and, by such a War, we can *better repel* any Attacks made upon us by them; it follows, consequently, that our *natural Strength* can never be either *exerted*, or *consulted*, by engaging in *any War*, upon the Continent.

Accordingly, we defy all Mankind, to point out *any one single Advantage*, that can *possibly result to us*, from such an *absurd and preposterous Conduct*, to call it by *no harder Name*; whereas the *Prejudice*, we may receive from thence, is *infinite*, and *evident*. It is agreed on all Hands, we do not want to make any Conquests, by Land; it is not our Interest so to do; and if we should be *so weak* as to desire it, our Allies themselves (if we have any worth calling so,) would not consent thereto, but would oppose it: What Business

ness then can we have, to involve ourselves in a War, which *probably* may be *excessively detrimental*, if not *absolutely ruinous*, and cannot *possibly* be of any Service to us?

To descend from Generals to Particulars, the only Motives, that have been openly avow'd, for our *engaging so deeply*, in the present War in *Germany*, are to *restore Peace* to the *Empire*, and *support* the *Queen of Hungary*. Very specious Pretences, we must confess! and which carry a pretty plausible Appearance, to those who look no farther than the Outside of Things; but which will, by no means, *be satisfactory*, to any *honest* and *thinking Briton*, if we have still any such left amongst us; which, by what we have seen happen, within these two Years, we are almost tempted to question.

If it should be pretended, that the latter of these, *namely*, the *Support* of the *Queen of Hungary*, was *really* one of the Motives, for our *entering so deeply* into the present War, several Difficulties will arise, which, we are afraid, it would *puzzle* some of our *wisest Heads* to solve. In the *first Place*, why was it *so long delay'd*? Why did we suffer her *Hungarian Majesty*, to be brought to the *very Brink of Ruin*, before we offered to assist her? Why did we *sit still*, and see her Dominions *so cruelly barrast*, and her *whole Strength and Wealth*, in a Manner, *exhausted*, before a *single Man* was order'd, to move to her Relief? Is it not *evidently* owing only to a *Miracle*, and to the *visible Interposition* of the *Divine Providence*, in her Behalf, that her whole Inheritance was not *entirely swallowed up*, whilst we continued *quiet Spectators*, of the *Barbarity* and *Injustice*, of her *merciless*, and *cowardly Enemies*?

If therefore, it was *expedient*, or *necessary* for us, to assist her at all, does not every one see, it would have been *more adviseable*, to have done it sooner ? Either *it was*, or *it was not*, requisite, to *espouse her Interest*, and *save her from sinking* : If it was not, why have we *armed now*, so *many Thousands* in her Quarrel ? And, if it was, does not every one see, we might have done it, at *less Expence*, and with *infinitely less Hazard*, whilst she was herself able, to make a *vigorous Struggle* in her own Defence, than at present, when she has *suffered so much*, from the *Ravages* of her *Oppressors*, and *lost* such Numbers of her *choicest Men* ? What shall we say to *such monstrous Politics* ? Or rather, what will all the World think of *such absurd Conduct* ? Did we suffer that *glorious Princess*, to be *reduced so low*, and her *Enemies to triumph so long* over her, only to show Mankind, we can still *pull down the latter*, and *restore the former*, to her *pristine Splendor*, by the *superior Force and Bravery*, of the *invincible Armies of Great-Britain and Hanover* ? Such a Piece of *Knight-Errantry* might sound *very well* in a *Romance*, but will make a *very indifferent Appearance* in *History*.

Again, when it was once resolved to assist her *Hungarian Majesty*, why were the sixteen thousand *Hanoverians*, which we had so *prudently* taken into our pay, about the Beginning of last Winter, ordered down to *Flanders*, where, it was known, they could be of no Service ; and why were they not sent after *Maillebois*, to *barrafs him* in his March, and *prevent the Retreat* of the *French Forces* ; which being *coop'd up* in *Prague*, must have been either *cut in Pieces*, *famish'd*, or made *Prisoners at Discretion* ? But that *Punning* may seem too *ludicrous*, upon so *melancholly* a subject,

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we would fain ask, where was the *Discretion*, of such *unaccountable Measures*?

Shall it eternally be *truly said*, by *Foreigners*, to the *Reproach* of our *Country*, that the *English* have, indeed, *Abundance* of *Wit*, but then it is only *After-wit*? Shall we always *resemble* the late Lord *Wharton's* *PUPPIES*, by *never opening our Eyes*, 'till we are *downright sinking*? Are not *all Evils*, if *foreseen in time*, to be *prevented*, at an *easier* and *cheaper Rate*, than they can be *remedied* afterwards? Did we never before discover, that the *Power of France*, was *growing formidable to Europe*? Have not the *Gentlemen*, in the *Opposition*, *alarmed us* frequently, for many years, with *Representations* of its *continual Increase*? Are not divers of their *Speeches yet extant*? Nay, have not all the *Public Writers*, except those *Prostitutes* in the *Pay* of the *M—y*, taken the *Alarm*, and *echoed the impending Danger*, throughout the *Kingdom*? And what has been the *Consequence* thereof? Were not both the *One*, and the *Other* represented, at one *Time*, as *seditious and disaffected Persons*, who were *perpetually disturbing the Tranquillity* of the *Nation*, by *infusing* into them *vain Fears*, of *imaginary and chimerical Perils*, that existed *no where*, but in their own *Brain*? Whilst our *wise, honest, and sagacious M—r*, *persisted* in still *contributing*, by every *Step* he took, towards the *Aggrandizement*, of that our natural *Enemy*, regardless of all that could be said *against it*. And, at another *Time*, when the *Danger* was become *too visible* to be *denied*, was not the *Note changed*; and was not *this very Danger* urged *against us*, and but too *successfully*, for many years, to prevent our *taking Revenge*, of a *cruel, cowardly, and despicable Nation*, who had not only *insulted*, and *plunder'd* us, but *committed the most insolent*

insolent and provoking Outrages, equally to the Dishonour of our Sovereign and his Subjects?

Was not, we say, this the very Case? Was not the *Danger of incensing France*, urged, *with too much Success*, to prevent our declaring *War* against *Spain*, in our own Cause? Nay, was it not even said, that we must not dare to *intercept* or *seize* the *Galleons*, though we should come to a *Rupture* with *Spain*, because the *French* had the *greatest Share of Property* therein, and *would not suffer it?*

Did we not *wink* at the *Marquis D'Antin's Expedition* to the *Baltick*, though it was *openly declared*, that one Part of his *Business* was to *sound our Coasts*; and though it put us to the Charge, of *fitting out a peaceable Squadron*, to prevent any *sinister Designs*, that might be *concealed* under *that Pretence*? Did we not even *wink* at his *second Expedition* to the *West-Indies*, and suffer him to *proceed so far* thereon, before we sent any Ships after him, that, had not *Providence interposed* in our Favour, not only *Admiral Vernon* and his Squadron must have been swallow'd up, by the united Navy of *France* and *Spain*, but, probably, *Sir Chaloner Ogle* himself, with his Fleet, must likewise have fallen a Sacrifice, in the second Place? Is any one *so weak*, as to imagine, the *Marquis D'Antin* would not have assisted the *Spaniards*, could he but have joined them, before the Arrival of *Sir Chaloner*? And was it not owing entirely to *contrary Winds*, that he did not? Is it not evident, by the Conduct of the *Marquis*, in returning immediately to *Europe*, when he found his *Design frustrated*, by the Junction of our Admirals, that this was the sole *End* of his Voyage? Or do we believe the *French* were *fond*, of copying after our *wise Example*, in *fitting out peaceable Squadrons*

drons, and putting the Public to *unnecessary Expence*, to *persuade* their *Enemies* into Compliance, with their *Desires*? Was not the *whole Nation*, so universally convinced, that the *French Fleet* were sent to join the *Spaniards*, and fall, with their *united Force*, upon Admiral *Vernon*, that we all gave him over for lost? Was it not even suggested, that it was the *Desire* of some *Persons*, at *Home*, who bore that gallant Officer no good Will, and were utterly *averse* to our *declaring War*, that he might be defeated? In Effect, might it not be truly said of him, on that Occasion, as was, on another, of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *Elements* fought for him. And might not this Compliment be justly apply'd to him?

O ! *nimum dilecte Deo, cui militat Æther,*
Et conjurati veniunt ad Classica venti !

Claudian.

Was not this, we say again, the real Case? And did we not wink at all these gross *Affronts*, rather than draw upon us the Power of *France*, in our own Cause? Nay, did we not even wink at her building diverse *Batteries*, near *Dunkirk*, on pretence of guarding her *Coasts*, from *Insults*, to avoid breaking with her, on any Account, though our own Interest was in Question? And are we now, wantonly, bringing her *Arms* upon us, without any fresh *Provocation*, and that in another's Quarrel, and (what is yet worse) in a *consuming Land-War*? Amazing Change! Or rather, monstrous *Inconsistence*, in our Counsels! But, what shall we say, We hope, we are not as yet fallen under that heavy Curse, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*.

In Effect, either our *past Conduct*, for, at least, these dozen Years, was *weak* and *destructive*, or our *present Measures* must be so; and some, per-
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haps, may be *so malicious* to insinuate, neither of them *are much better*. But, however that may be, this is evident, granting the former to be the Case, if we are now to act the *Part of Penelope*, by *pulling down* what we have been so long *building up*, and running counter to all our Measures for that Time, one Step more was *absolutely necessary*, even for our *own Vindication*; namely, the making a *publick Recantation*, by *disclaiming* and *disavowing* our past Conduct; by *owning* we had been *imposed on*, and *betray'd*; and (which likewise *necessarily* follows) by an *Impeachment*, and *vigorous Prosecution*, of *those*, who had thus *misled*, *betray'd*, and *imposed upon* us, with *all their Tools*, and *Abettors*, be they ever so numerous. This, we say, was *absolutely necessary*, if we desired to *create any Confidence*, either in our *Allies*, if such we still have, or in our *People at Home*: For, otherwise, if we *skreen* and *protect* the *Trayors*, whilst we *condemn* their *Treasons*; if we *suffer them* to enjoy with *Impunity* the *Fruits* of their *Villany*, whilst we are *groaning* under the *Misfortunes*, and *Pressures* occasioned by their *pernicious Proceedings*; if we *allow* them to *revel* in *insolent Joy*, and *Plenty*, whilst the whole Nation are *almost starving*, and *mourning* their *wretched Condition*; we may *talk* of our *Wisdom*; we may *boast* of our *Bravery*; and we may *prate* if we please, of our *Liberty*; but the first will be *DESPISED*, the second *PITIED*, and the third *LAUGH'D* at, by all *Europe*.

Come we now, to the other Motive, for engaging in the present War, namely, *that of restoring Peace in the Empire*; and let us see whether the Matter will be much mended? We are afraid not. In the first Place, most of the Questions before asked, if not all of them, might again be repeated

repeated as properly here, and it would be equally difficult, to give a satisfactory Answer thereto ; not only so but besides those, some other Objections, might be started, by an *ill-natured Querist*, which it would not be found an easy Task to remove. For Instance, how comes *Great-Britain*, which, being an Island, can be but *remotely*, if at all, *affected* thereby, *more concerned*, in *Re-establishing* the *Peace* of the *Empire*, than divers of the *Princes* of *Germany*, and even *some* of the *most powerful*; though their *Dominions* are *situated* therein ; and, being *themselves Members* of it, their *Welfare* and *Safety* must be look'd upon, as *inseparable* from that of the *Germanick-Body* ; and yet seem, to *trouble themselves very little*, about the present War.

There are but two Ways, by which, this their indolent Behaviour can possibly be accounted for ; the One is by saying, that they do not apprehend the Safety of the *Empire*, as a Body, to be *at all in Danger*, at this Juncture, and then it will follow, of Course, that we had no Business to interfere in the War. The other is, by *frankly confessing*, that, finding us, to be *at all Times so ready*, to be the *Don Quixotes*, and *Dupes* of *Europe*, they are *resolved*, to lay the *whole Burden* upon us. Now which of these may be Case, we will not pretend to determine ; but this we will venture to affirm ; that, supposing the former to be the Truth, we are acting a *very imprudent Part* ; and supposing it to be the latter, whatever may be the Issue thereof, it will not *redound much* to our *Honour*, or *Interest*, to be constantly the *Bubbles*, and *Jack-pay-for-alls* of every Power on the Continent. In Effect, it is very evident, it is *in this Light*, our *Neighbours* at present *look upon us* ; it would, otherwise, have been impossible, that the *Dutch*,
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who, had the Queen of *Hungary* been *overwhelmed*, must *infallibly* have fallen a *Sacrifice* the next, could have remained so long, such *quiet* and *unconcerned Spectators*, of a War, on the Event of which, their *own Security immediately depended*.

Having mentioned the *Dutch*, we cannot help making one Observation, with Regard, to *their Behaviour* to us of *late Years*, which has equally raised our *Astonishment*, and *Indigation*; it is this, that we have *not been able*, to prevail on them to join with us, in *any one Measure*, unless we should except the *Suppression* of the *Ostend Company*, (wherein they were more than *equally concerned*, in Point of *Interest*, with ourselves) and in the *present War*, if they can properly be said *as yet* to have joined us. We say, this has equally raised our *Indignation* and *Astonishment*; the one, at the *Slight put upon us*, and the *Indignity offer'd us*; (not to mention their *gross Ingratitude* to a Nation, which has so often *prevented* their being *swallowed up*,) the other, that our *incomparable Statesmen* have never *bethought themselves* of a Way, to *compel* them to it, and that almost at any Time. Let but the Minister of *Great-Britain*, who resides at the *Hague* declare *peremptorily*, in his Master's Name, that *He will renounce all Alliance* with them, and leave them to the *Mercy of France*, unless they will *cordially espouse our Interests*, and unite their *Forces*, against our *common Enemies*, as the *French* ever were, and ever must be, and they will not stand long *hesitating* about it: In Effect, they, would then, have but these *two Ways* to choose; either to *throw themselves directly*, into the *Arms of France*, and become a Province to her, or, to join *Heart and Hand* with us; and which of these would

would be the *most eligible*, we leave any one to judge.

To return, however, from whence we have digress'd, we would fain ask another Question; namely, how has the Empire *deserved it* at our Hands, that we should interest ourselves *so deeply* in its Welfare? We confess, we know of no Obligation we have to it, nor, indeed, of any we possibly can have. We know, on the contrary, that it *owed its Safety* to us, at the *ever-memorable* Battle of *Hochstedt*; when our *victorious Army*, defeated the *ambitious Views* of the *common Enemy* of Europe, at an *infinite Expence* both of *Blood and Treasure*; for which we were *amply rewarded*, no doubt, by a *few bloody Rags*, some of which still hang up in *Westminster Hall*: But, how this Benefit, conferred thereon by us, at *so dear a Rate*, should lay us under a *fresh Obligation*, of *conferring more*, and *probably*, at as *exorbitant a Price*, we must own, we cannot perceive.

In Effect, who was it lighted up the Flames of War in the *Empire*, and carried Fire and Sword, into the Dominions of the *Queen of Hungary*? Was it not the *Elector of Bavaria*? A Prince, who has always been in the Interest of the *common Enemy* and *Incendiary* of Europe, and who has trod exactly in the Steps of his deceased Father? And did not the Empire, nevertheless, choose this Prince as their Head, and thereby enable him the more, to *lay waste*, and *spread Desolation* through, great Part of the Territories of her *Hungarian Majesty*? Did not most of the Princes assist *the Emperor* in so doing, and do not many still support him with Men or Money? Who then can they *have to blame*, but themselves, for the *Ravage and Devastation* of the *Empire*?
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And what Business have we to *intermeddle* there-with? Must they *light up Fires*, and must we be at the *Expence* and *Trouble* of *extinguishing* them? As to the *Emperor* himself, we think he is so far from being to be *pitied*, that we are of Opinion, he deserves, yet worse than he has yet met with; and should not be sorry, to see him reduced to *take Refuge* in *France*, as his Father did before him.

To speak the Truth, the House of *Bavaria* have, for many Years, been the *never failing Tools*, of the House of *Bourbon*; and, though we bear no Ill-will to the *Bavarians*, as a People, yet, as they are continually made the Instruments, of their Prince's *unjust Schemes* to *embroil Europe*, and are thereby render'd *subservient*, to the *ambitious* and *wicked Designs* of the Court of *Versailles*, we think, it would be for the Benefit of *Christendom*, if both *they*, and the *French*, were almost *exterminated*, as the *Pests* of *Society*, and *common Enemies* of *Mankind*. Perhaps this may sound *very ill-natured* in the Ears of some People, and we may be censured as *highly inhuman*; but, if they would weigh the Matter rightly, they would soon be convinced to the contrary; and would know, we are governed in our Opinion, by this equitable Rule,

—— *Nec Lex est justior ulla,*

Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.

In Effect, if either the *French*, and *Bavarians*, or all the *Rest of Europe*, must *be ruined*; if they have constantly endeavoured to *embroil all Christendom*; if the whole Tenor of their Conduct, for many Years, has been the same, and they have *never wanted the Will*, when they have had the *Power*; if their Princes, within these fourscore Years, have been the Cause, of *shedding as much*
Blood,

Blood, and destroying as many Men, as both their Dominions contain, (which we verily believe they have ;) and if their Subjects are always ready, to execute their very worst Commands, we think, it will hardly admit of any Dispute, which ought to suffer.

That we have not aggravated Matters, in this Representation of the Case, will evidently appear, if we consider, how often, within that Time, they have called the *Turks* into the *Empire*, and what Numbers, on both Sides, lost their Lives on those Occasions ; if we reflect, likewise, what Seas of Blood were shed by them, on Account of the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*, whereon they perfidiously seized, contrary to all *Laws human and divine* ; if we reflect, on their *spiriting up* the *Spaniards*, to seize on *Sicily*, in 1718, the preventing of which has caused the War between them and us ever since ; together with their *successful Invasion* of both *Naples, Sicily and Milan*, in 1734, in Conjunction with the Kings of *Spain and Sardinia*, whom they also drew into that War ; their bribing the *Cardinal Primate of Poland*, with several of the *Grandeess*, to elect *Stanislaus*, tho' contrary to his Desire, merely to make his Election a *Bone of Contention*, and to set all *Europe* in a Flame ; their *spiriting up* the *Swedes* since, to fall upon the *Muscovites*, and the Kings of *Prussia and Poland*, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, to attack the Queen of *Hungary* ; if we reflect on all these, we say, and the Millions of Lives, lost on all Sides thereby, we shall find, we have not exceeded the Bounds of Probability, in saying, the *French and Bavarians* have been the Occasion, of destroying as many Men, as both their Dominions contain : We have passed over their *perfidious*

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dious Invasion of the Seven Provinces, which they almost over-ran in the Reign of Charles II, and their more perfidious and inhuman Behaviour, on Pretence of being Mediators, in Corsica, with the Blood shed on those Occasions, because we would not inflame the Reckoning.

To return then, from whence we have again digressed, we have seen, that, whether our engaging in the present War, be ascribed to our Desire, of *Supporting the Queen of Hungary, or of Restoring Peace to the Empire*, our Conduct must appear both *weak, and unaccountable*, to all *sensible, and unprejudiced* Persons. Neither would the Matter be much mended, should we add a third Motive, and say it was necessary, to *prevent the Overthrow of the Ballance of Power, in Europe*; because *it is notoriously known*, that the *whole Tenor of our Conduct*, for above these Twenty Years, has had a *visible Tendency*, to *aggrandize France, and weaken the House of Austria*; which, every one, who did not wilfully shut his Eyes against Conviction, was sensible could not fail, of *effectually destroying the Ballance of Power*.

This was *so manifest*, that some Persons have pretended to account for it, by saying, that the *Greatness of the Austrian Family, was look'd upon with invidious Eyes*, by a certain *G-erm-n Prince*; that he was, therefore, desirous, of *bringing it down to his own Level*; and that he found the Means, to prevail upon *our M——ry*, to join with him, in this *detestable and destructive Project*; which has, accordingly, been put in **Execution** but *too successfully*. We must own, were we to judge by Appearances, and the present Posture of Affairs, we should be tempted to believe this; but then we can't help thinking, that an *Impeachment*

ment, must have been the *necessary Consequence*, of our *Change of Measures*, were it only to vindicate the *Nation in general*, from *having consented* to a Design so execrable, and so contrary to our *true Interest*: As no such Thing, therefore, has been attempted, we must conclude, there are no Grounds, for such a Suggestion.

Neither would we willingly believe, there is any more Foundation, for another, which has been, industriously, whisper'd about, and has gained some Credit; namely, that the *Advantage*, and *Welfare*, of a certain *El——te*, has been of *more Weight*, and *more consulted*, in our *Measures*, at this Juncture, than the *Interest*, and *Prosperity* of *Great-Britain*; because it would necessarily follow, that even the present Pilots of the State, were but *little less criminal*, than *those in former Times*; and consequently, that we are scarce any Way the Gainers, by the Change.

What gave Rise to this Suggestion, we suppose, was this; that the People, not being able to account for our late Conduct, and particularly, for *one Step*, which they thought *wholly inconsistent* with the Interest of these Kingdoms, were willing to ascribe it to the *Regard*, *some Persons* had for a *certain Country*, for *whose Advantage alone* it seem'd calculated: But they never consider'd, that, though *such a Regard*, might be *very excusable*, and *natural*, in *those Persons*, it was quite the *Reverse*, and *absolutely unpardonable* in *some others*; because it shew'd, they were utterly *unmindful*, and *regardless*, of the *Welfare* of *another Country*, for which they were bound, by the *strictest Tyes* of *Duty*, and *Nature*, to have the *most tender Concern*.

We chuse, therefore, rather to suspend our Judgment, till we can have better Information,

what were the *real Motives*, which induc'd us, now, to *engage so precipitately*, in a War upon the Continent, than be guilty, of *passing a rash Censure*, upon the Counsels of *those*, for *whose Wisdom, and Integrity*, we would willingly retain the *utmost Veneration*. But, nevertheless, we cannot help observing, it is *somewhat amazing*, the *present Land-War*, wherein we are as yet *only Auxiliaries*, should have *so much engrossed* all our *Care, and Attention*, that the *War with Spain*, wherein we are *Principals*, and in the *Success* thereof, we are *infinitely more nearly concerned*, should be *wholly neglected*, and in a *Manner, forgot*. It must be confessed, to our *eternal Honour*, that we are certainly the *most generous, and disinterested Nation*, that ever was, in thus *preferring the Advantage of our Allies*, to our own; we should be glad, if we could see any of them, who were fond of following our Example; but they are *wiser*, than to *imitate us*, in such *Knight-Errantry*.

Will it be said, in *Justification* of this *strange and unaccountable Conduct*, that the *whole Nation called out loudly upon us*, to *assist her Hungarian Majesty*? Supposing it should be granted; would this be a sufficient *Excuse*? Not in the least? We own, it was a *very popular Measure*; we own, the *Britons*, who are *naturally a brave, and generous People*, could *not bear* to see that *injured, and gallant Princess*, so *basely and unjustly oppressed*, and *overwhelm'd*, by such *Numbers of treacherous and cowardly Enemies*, who, without any *Provocation*, invaded her *Dominions*, on all *Sides*, with *Fire and Sword*, without wishing *Providence might raise her up some Protector*, to *support her Cause*; But does this prove, we desired so many *British Regiments*, should be trans-
ported

ported to *Flanders*, at an *infinite Expence*; and that we should take Sixteen Thousand *Hanoverians* into *our Pay*, almost a Year before we wanted them, to *fight*, in a Manner, *their own Quarrel*? We say, *their own Quarrel*; for, that they were much *more nearly concerned therein*, than we, *nobody can deny*. As little does it *prove*, that we were willing, our own Interest should be *entirely neglected*, or *postponed*; or that, while we are maintaining a *powerful Squadron*, in the *Mediterranean*, for the *Protection* of the Territories of *Sardinia* and *Tuscany*, the *Spaniards* should be *suffered*, almost *unmolested*, to take our Merchant-Ships, and every Week should bring an Account of *fresh Captures*; which might *long ago* have been *prevented*, in a great Measure, by sending a *small Squadron*, to *St. Sebastian's*, to *demolish* that *Nest of Pyrates*; or, at least, to *burn* all the *Privateers* in that Harbour.

No, this was such *preposterous Conduct*, as could *never have been foreseen*, or, if it had, would *never have been approved of*. We grant, we were willing the Queen of *Hungary* should be *assisted*; but then it was by *timely Remittances in Money*; with which she could have *hired Troops*, not only, at a *much easier Rate* than we possibly can, but *such Troops*, as she might have had *much sooner*, and which, being *absolutely at her own Command*, would have done her *much more effectual Service*, than any others. In the mean while, if we were willing to go yet farther, a *formidable Fleet* might have made a *powerful Diversion*, by keeping the *Coasts of France*, in a *continual Alarm*, which would, at once, have answered *two good Ends*; one, by *obliging them*, to keep a *large Body of Forces*, upon *their Sea Coasts*, and *interrupting their Commerce*, which, of itself, would have been *highly advanta-*

gious to us ; the other, by *scowring our Channel*, and *securing our Merchant-Ships*, from any *Spanish Privateers*, or, which is as bad, from the *French*, under the Disguise of *Spaniards* ; we might add a *third Advantage*, which would have *resulted to us*, from so *judicious and prudent a Conduct* ; namely, we should either *not have heard*, of the *Refortifying Dunkirk*, in *express Violation*, of the *Treaty of Utrecht*, or might have *effectually prevented* it, by a *timely Visit*, before it had been *too far advanced*. There was yet another Way, of *distressing the French*, which would have *gall'd them* considerably, and that is, by procuring *Commissions from her Hungarian Majesty*, to *fit out Privateers*, under *her Colours* ; which would, nevertheless, have been no *Breach of Peace*, nor any more than the *Lex Talionis*, as they have done the same by us, several Times.

We confess, indeed, if we must always be *burthened*, with the same *numerous Land-Army*, as of late Years, we should choose much rather, to have them employ'd, in *fighting for our Allies abroad*, than in *spreading Idleness*, and *Debauchery*, by their Examples, at *Home*, throughout the Kingdom. But it was *expected, long ago*, that we should have been *relieved* from this Grievance ; and though *no Ease* could be obtained, during the Influence of our late *Grand-Vizier*, it was generally *believed*, this would have been, the *agreeable first Fruits*, of a *Change* ; nay, though we found ourselves *disappointed herein*, Nobody *doubted*, but it would have been *complied with*, before it was attempted, to *lay any farther Load* upon the *Publick*, in Favour of any *Ally* whatever ; so willing were we to *wait with Patience*, and not be *too precipitate* in censuring.

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To our Sorrow, however, we were *mistaken egregiously*, and have seen a Change of Hands, with *very little Alteration of Measures*: So *contagious* is a *bad Example*! especially when *no Punishment* has been *inflicted* on the first *Offender*. Nevertheless, though we have taken *one false Step*, and there is no *Likelyhood*, we should *recede* from it, at least, if we are *guided* by the same *wise Counsels*, as of late, till the *Back* of the Nation is *quite broken*, we will venture to *lay it down*, as an *unalterable Maxim*, with Respect to these Kingdoms, that, whenever we would *exert* our *natural Strength*, to the *greatest Advantage*, and *annoy* our *Enemies* the *most*, with the *least Expence*, and *Hazard* to ourselves, we must begin, with *Disbanding* our *Land-Forces*, and *Taking off* our most *burthensome Taxes*: We must, then, necessarily, reign *Lords of the Ocean*; and, though our *own Trade*, might labour under *some Difficulties* (which is the *constant Effect* of *War*,) that of our *Neighbours* would labour under yet more; which would make them *soon willing*, to give us *reasonable Satisfaction*.

In Effect, the Case is widely *altered*, between us and the *French*, since the *late War*; during that, we had a *pretty flourishing Trade*, and the *French scarce any*; so that, we had a *great Deal* to *lose*, and scarce *any Thing* to *get*: (And yet even then, by a *right Management*, we might have made them *soon weary of it* :) Whereas *now*, as they are our *Rivals*, and that too *successfully*, in *most* of our *Branches of Trade*, (wherein they have, in a great Measure, *supplanted us*,) they have *as much*, or *more to lose* than we, and, by Reason of our *Superiority at Sea*, must necessarily *suffer the most*. If we must engage in a *War*, therefore, at any *Time*, (which, as has been already shewn, we ought ne-

ver to do, but for the *Prevention* of a greater *Evil*, as the *Interruption* of our *Commerce*, or *Violation* of our *just Rights*, let us carry it on, in such a Manner, as to annoy our *Enemies* the most, and that with the *least Hazard* and *Expence*, and the *greatest Probability* of *Advantage*, to ourselves.

Should we not think any Man, *little better than mad*, who, being *himself* but of *small Stature*, and *weak*, and having a *Quarrel* to decide, with an *Adversary* of *Twice his Strength*, (with whom, however he could *very well cope*, either at *Small-Sword* or with *Fire-Arms*,) if, having it in his own Power, to *choose his Weapons*, he should decline using those, which rendered him a *MATCH* for his *Antagonist*, and *vain-gloriously*, *rashly*, and *foolishly*, should offer to *engage him*, at *Fifty-Cuffs*, wherein the other had *visibly* the *Odds* on his Side? Should we not say such an *obstinate Wretch*, was *infatuated*, and *highly deserved*, to be *heartily drubbed*, in order to bring *Him to his Senses*? This would certainly be the Opinion, of every reasonable Man; nor would any one, *either assist or pity him*, though *reduced* to the *most deplorable Condition*; but bid him *thank himself*. Just as *weak and absurd*, is the *Conduct* of *Great-Britain*, in *Engaging* in a *War by Land*, with any *Power* upon the *Continent*.

But, perhaps, it will be said, we could not, any other Way, *so effectually support* her *Hungarian Majesty*; and that we were *bound* to *assist her*, as *Guarantees* of the *Pragmatic Sanction*: Let us examine, therefore, what Truth there would be, in such a Suggestion; Supposing then a *timely Remittance*, of *Two Millions of Florins*, over and above what has already been granted her, had been made to that *Glorious Princess*, at the *Beginning* of the War; and supposing the *Hanoverians* had *paid* their *own Troops*, which, as *their Country* is more
nearly

nearly concerned in the *Event* thereof, than ours, they ought to have done: Supposing we, in the mean while, had sent a *powerful Squadron*, with *Five*, or *Six Thousand* Soldiers, and a *proper Number* of *Bomb-Ketches*, to keep the *Sea-Coasts*, of *France*, in a *continual Alarm*, and carry *Terror* and *Desolation*, wherever they appeared; would not *such a Diversion*, with the *infinite Damage* they might have done, and the *almost total Interruption* of their *Commerce*, have obliged the *French* to send *such Numbers*, to man their *Coasts*, as would have *weakened their Army* more, than any other Measure we can take? This, we believe, will hardly be disputed; but *Forefight*, and *sound Policy*, are very *seldom* the *Characteristicks* of a *B—t—sh M——y*.

Accordingly, we saw *ours*, continue *wholly unconcerned* and *indolent*, whilst the *Kings of France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, in *Conjunction*, invaded the *Dominions*, of our *ancient Ally* the *Emperor*, on every Side; stript him of all his *Possessions* in *Italy*; and reduced him to the last *Extremity*; to extricate himself from which, his *Imperial Majesty*, was forced to agree, to the *Cession* of the *Dutchy* of *Lorain* to *France*; to which he had prevailed on the *Duke* to consent, in *Consideration* of his *Marriage* with the *Archdutchess*, now *Queen of Hungary*, and the *eventual Succession*, to the *Dutchy* of *Tuscany*. This *considerable Aggrandizement*, of our *natural Enemy*, they beheld, we say, with the utmost *Unconcern*, at the same Time that they saw the *Ballance of Power*, in *Europe*, entirely *overthrown*, by the so great *Weakening* of the *House* of *Austria*, in the *Loss* of *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicilies*. All this did our then *worthy Ministry*, look on, with *Indifference*; whilst the *Prostitutes*, whom they kept in pay, to cast a *Mist* before the *Eyes* of

of the People, and *poison* their Minds, *were not ashamed*, to be daily *inveighing* against the Treaty of *Utrecht*, for having left the *House of Bourbon* too formidable, and not having sufficiently provided for the *Ballance of Power*.

But submitting it to *wiser Heads*, and to *those*, whom it may more immediately concern, by *what Motives* those *Gentlemen* were influenced, at that Time, we shall now proceed to consider, what we at first proposed, namely, what must be the *probable Consequences* of our engaging in a *Land-War*: And in order to set this in a clearer Light, we shall examine, *First*, whether any Advantages, can possibly accrue to us from thence, and *Secondly*, what Detriment we may in all likelihood, apprehend from it. As to the former, we defy all Mankind, to point out one single Advantage, we can reap from it; we may, indeed, gain Victories, and take Towns, but will this be of any *Service to ourselves*? No, the *Expence of Blood and Treasure* will be left to us, as has always been in former Wars; whilst the *Benefit* will *redound solely to our Allies*.

In short, it would puzzle any one, to say, *what Benefit* we can *propose to ourselves*, from this extraordinary Step. Will it *increase or extend our Trade*? No one will have the Impudence to affirm it. Will it *enrich the Nation*? Quite the contrary; it will *greatly impoverish us*, by *continually draining from us our Money*, and our *most useful Hands*. Will it *secure us from the Depredations of the Spaniards*, or *obtain better Terms* for us, from *those haughty and cruel Enemies*? Just the Reverse; whilst we are *exerting our whole Strength*, in Support of the *Queen of Hungary*, at the *Expence of our best Blood and Treasure*, they will have the *fairest Opportunity* to exert themselves,
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by *Redoubling their Outrages*, and Putting their *Possessions in America*, into such a Condition, *not to fear any Insults*: So that, in Proportion, as we grow weaker, they will grow stronger, and consequently, will be the *less likely to recede*, from their *insolent Pretensions*. What a *hopeful Prospect* is this for *Great-Britain* ! If, then, a *Land-War*, will neither *extend our Trade*, *enrich the Nation*, *secure us* from the *Depredations and Insults of our Enemies*, nor *obtain us any better Terms* from them ; what *Advantage*, in the Name of Wonder, do we *propose to ourselves* from thence ?

Perhaps, it may be answered, we shall *obtain honourable Terms* for her *Hungarian Majesty*, after which, we shall be at Liberty, to *exert ourselves*, in our own *Behalf*, and *push on the War*, with *Vigour*, against the *Spaniards*. Shall we so ! We are heartily glad of it truly ! We thought, however, in *common Prudence*, we ought *first* to have *taken Care of our own Concerns* ; and then to have considered about *assisting our Allies*. But what have a *generous, disinterested British M———y*, to do with *Common Prudence*. And yet, what would they say to a Man, who, when *his own House*, and that of a *distant Neighbour*, were both in a *Flame*, at the same Time, should run to help *extinguish the latter*, and leave his own to be *consumed* ? Should not they, and all the World, pronounce him a *Madman* ? And are not we *now acting the very same Part* ? In Effect, supposing, we were not only to obtain, the *most honourable Terms*, for the *Queen of Hungary*, (which yet is somewhat doubtful,) but should be *so successful*, as to recover, for Her, all the *House of Austria* have lost, within these Ten Years, *what would this avail us*, if our own Nation is *impoverish'd*, our *most-able bodied Men* exhausted, and our *Commerce irretrievably lost* ?

All

All of which, are the *probable Consequences*, of our engaging *now* in a *Land-War*. We say of engaging *now*, because we must engage, at ten times the Disadvantage, we did formerly, in *Queen Anne's* Reign ; as will be shewn presently, in its proper Place.

But, perhaps it may be said, we may possibly *enlarge* our *Dominions*, by obtaining *some Territories* on the Continent, which may *add* to the *Splendour* of our Crown; and give *more Weight* to our *Influence*, whether we are to *declare War*, or enter into *Negotiations*, with any of our Neighbouring Potentates. Our Answer is, *Heaven forbid*, so *wild* a Thought, should ever find Entrance into our Brains ; we know but of *one Place*, besides what we already have, on the *whole Continent of Europe*, which could be of *any Service* to us, and that is *Dunkirk* ; which cannot fail, of proving a *great Thorn* in our Sides, whilst in the Hands of the *French*, in Case of Rupture ; and even that, our *good Allies*, would never assist us to reduce ; they would not, in all the late *glorious, and successful War*, though we were then continually adding. *not only Towns*, but *whole Provinces*, to their Dominions. Besides, we would fain ask, *what Weight* have the *German Territories*, under the Government of our Sovereign, given, at any Time, to our Measures ?

We have found them, indeed, of *some Weight*, but then it has been to our *Disadvantage* ; they have been of *sufficient Weight*, to draw away from us, *too frequently*, the *Persons* of our Princes ; we hope not their *Affections*, nor our *Treasures* ; tho' even that has been *often suggested*, but we are far from giving any Credit to it. Nay, it has been *pretty publickly* insinuated, by many, that they have been a *dead Weight* to us, on several Occasions,

sions, by *preventing us*, from *exerting ourselves*, for our *own true Interest*, whenever it has been thought *incompatible*, with that of those *favourite P-fs-fs-n's*; and drawing us into Measures, altogether *inconsistent* with our own *Welfare*. Some have even *pretended*, to account, by this means, for most of our *Measures*, of late Years; for which, otherwise, no *tolerable Reason* could be assigned. Accordingly, to this they ascribe the *Treaty of Hanover*, which threw us into the Arms of *France*, our *natural Enemy*, and *astonish'd all Mankind*; in order to reduce, the *exorbitant Power* of the *Emperor*, which say they, gave *Umbrage* to a certain *El——or*, and was therefore to be *brought lower*. To this, likewise, they ascribe, the *memorable Treaty of Seville*, which stipulated the Introduction, of *Spanish Troops* into *Tuscany*, and paved the Way for the *Revolution*, which happened soon after, and stript his *Imperial Majesty*, of all his *Possessions* in *Italy*. To this, also, they ascribe, our *continuing inactive*, though the *Emperor* was not only attack'd, at once, by *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia* in *Italy*, but in *Germany* also by the former, and reduced to the last Extremity.

Nay, they pretend to account, hereby, even for our present Conduct; and say, our engaging so heartily, at present, is owing to the *Resentment* of a *Visit*, made by *Maillebois* to a certain *El——te*; and the Fear, that another Prince of the *Empire*, may grow too powerful in his Turn, if the *Queen of Hungary* should be reduced too low. We are far, however, from giving Credit to any of these Suggestions: because it has ever been received, as an *undeniable Maxim* in Politics, to which there has never, heretofore, been found an Exception, that when a smaller State is united to a greater, so as to come under the Dominion

minion of the same Prince, the smaller must of Course, become dependent upon the greater, as the latter must necessarily be the Seat of Empire : Whereas, should we believe these Insinuations, the *Influence* of the *lesser Dominion*, has always been *too strong* for that of the *greater*, and has occasion'd *such Alterations*, in the *Political System* of *Europe*, as *could never have been foreseen*, and *would not have been believed*, if *prophefied*.

However, be this as it will, and leaving these Matters to be decided by others, as being above our Sphere, thus much is certain ; that any Possessions on the Continent, must be *highly prejudicial* to *Great-Britain* ; as they would deprive us, of the *most considerable Benefits*, we enjoy, through our *happy Situation* ; which are, that no Power can *invade us*, but at an *infinite Disadvantage* ; and that we need not be *involved*, in *any* of the *Quarrels*, between our Neighbours on the Continent, *unless we please* ; and, even then, it need only be upon *our own Terms*. Any Possessions, therefore, on the main Land, which were not considerable enough to support themselves, in Case of being attack'd, either by their own Strength, or through the Means of *natural Allies*, who are *interested* in their Preservation, would be so far from *proving beneficial*, that they might, in Time, *be fatal* to us, by being *perpetual Drains* of our *Treasure* ; and drawing us into so many Disputes, on their Account, as might *cost us more*, than the Value of their whole Fee-simple, might be able to defray.

Even GIBRALTAR, the only Place we have, or we hope, ever shall have, upon the Continent of *Europe*, would not be worth our keeping, were it not *impregnable* by Land, and *easily relieved*, in Case of a Siege, as long as we are *Masters of the Sea* : Nor would Dunkirk-
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be worth our Acceptance, if offered us, but that it might be render'd so, on the Land-side, by laying the Country around it under Water, whenever we pleas'd; and might defy all Attacks by Sea, whilst we *reign Sovereigns* of the *Channel*, which, we flatter ourselves, will be, till Time is no more. The *former*, therefore, of these Fortresses, as it *secures us*, the *Command* of the *Streights*, that *important Inlet* into the *Mediterranean*, is of infinite Value; and might be render'd of *prodigious Service* to us, though we can't say, it has hitherto been of much, by a *prudent Conduct*; and the *latter*, had we been suffer'd to keep it, in the Condition it was then in, as we might have done, at the *Peace of Utrecht*, had we had an *honest Ministry*, by rendering us *absolute Masters*, of *both Sides* of the *Channel*, would have *secured us*, in a great Measure, from the *Depredations* and *Injults* of our Enemies, under *our very Noses*, if we may use that Expression; nor should we have heard, of so many *half French*, *half Spanish* Privateers, who have *lain in wait*, to *snap up* our *Merchant Men*, almost at *our own Doors*.
 UNHAPPY BRITONS! scarce ever to have *one Ministry*, who have *consulted your true Interest*!

It was generally expected, upon the Dismission of our late *State-Leviathan*, that we should have seen *better Times*; and that *more salutary Measures* would have been follow'd; but, by what Fatality it has been prevented, we know not, we have been *hitherto disappointed*; we are willing, however, still to hope, that Things will soon take a *more favourable Turn*, for these *unfortunate Kingdoms*; and that the *inauspicious*, and *baneful Planet*, or rather CONSTELLATION, which has lately been *predominant*, and shed its *malevolent Influences*, over the *British Counsels*, will be quickly ba-
 be

nish'd our Horizon ; by the propitious Conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and Mercury, in a Trine Aspect, portending Peace, Plenty, Content, and unclogg'd Liberty, (with a flourishing and extended Commerce, free from all Restraints, and heavy Duties,) to these once more happy Realms.

All these Blessings, great as they are, would be the *necessary Consequences* of *wise Measures* ; as the *very Reverse*, will always be the Effect, of *weak and imprudent Undertakings* : How maturely ought we, then, to weigh all our Steps, when *so prodigious* is the Difference, between a *well regulated Conduct*, and the contrary ! *Good Management, and Forecast*, is of as *much Consequence*, in *publick Affairs*, as in *private Life* ; and what should we say to a Man, who, being about to *engage in any Business*, did not first sit down, and *consider*, whether *his Gains* were *likely*, to be *more than tantamount* to *his Losses*, and the *Expence* of carrying it on ? Should we not reckon him *very weak, and unadvised* ; undoubtedly we should ! How much more, then, should we deem him so, who should *embark in any Affair*, wherein his *probable Gains*, were *not only highly unlikely*, ever to make a *near Compensation*, for *his Losses*, and the *Charge of Management*, but wherein the *least Miscarriage*, or *ill Success*, might *possibly* be attended, with the *most fatal Effects* ?

We have *more than human Authority*, to justify us, in *blaming* the Conduct of that Prince, who, *being able* to raise but an Army of *Ten Thousand Men*, should think of coping with another, who could bring *Twenty Thousand* against him : And were it not, that *few Statesmen*, trouble their Heads with the Scripture, we could wish those *Counsellors*, who *advised* us, to *engage so precipitately*, in the *present Land-War*, after we had *so long*

long continued *quiet Spectators* thereof, and suffer'd her *Hungarian Majesty* to be so greatly *weaken'd*, (which might have been *prevented*, by *timely Assistance*,) had first read *Luke*, xiv. 31, 32, and *calmly weigh'd* it. But, perhaps, it may be answer'd, there is no *Similitude* between our *Case*, at present, and that of the *King* there mentioned; that our *Army* is, at least, *equal*, if not *superior*, to that of our *Enemies*; and that we have already shewn, we are able to cope with them. Suppose we should grant this, what then! Supposing, instead of a *drawn Battle*, or a *Victory*, which the *French* still *dispute* with us, we had *undeniably gained the better*, and had kill'd them *Ten Thousand Men*, whilst we had lost but *half the Number*; would this have been *any great Matter of Triumph* to us? Are not our *Enemies* *able to support Ten such Defeats*? On the contrary, should not we be pretty much in the same *Case*, with the *famous Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*; who, after having gained an *indisputable Advantage* over the *Romans*, but at a *dear Rate*, and *being complimented* thereon, by his *Officers* and *Courtiers*, *very wisely* answer'd, *Such another Victory would UNDO me*.

In Effect, though we will not affirm, that we should not be able to *bear up*, under one or two *dear-bought Victories*, or even *as many Defeats*, yet we will venture to submit it, to the *serious Consideration*, of any thinking and impartial Person, whether, supposing this War were to be *equally successful*, with that in the *immortal, glorious, Queen Anne's* Reign, (which by the bye, is highly improbable) there is *any Likelihood*, a Nation, *already sinking*, under the *intolerable Load*, of *such heavy Taxes* as we pay, should be able to support it? Or whether the *Queen of Hungary's*, *already, impoverished*, and *almost depopulated Dominions*, and

her *exhausted Finances*, can be any *great Assistance* to us, should the War be protracted to any Length of Time? And, if we are neither able of ourselves, nor, with the Help of her *Hungarian Majesty*, to support the Burthen of a consuming *Land-War*, for any Continuance, we would beg our Country-men, *seriously* to consider, what we are about.

Perhaps, it will be answered, we shall be joined, likewise, by the *Dutch*, and it may be, by the King of *Prussia*: Supposing this were so, would this mend Matters mightily? We are afraid not. As to the *States-General*, it is well known, *how unwilling* they were to engage with us at all, if they can be said, to have engaged yet; which is to be doubted: And, as to his *Prussian Majesty*, we are apprehensive, his *Friendship* is of so *very late standing*, that it is as yet *pretty much to be suspected*. Besides, should we, for once grant, that they would *now engage heartily*, on our side, which is much to be questioned, especially of the *Dutch*; so greatly do they stand in *Awe*, of their too formidable Neighbours, the *French*; does not every one see, it would be only upon *their own Terms*; and *how advantageous* this would be to us, we leave every one to judge, who has but the least Knowledge, of that *artful, politick, and self-interested People*.

They call themselves a *Nation of Traders*, and not without *good Reason*; for such will every one find them, who has any Dealings with them. They treat, as a *State*, in the same Manner, as each *Individual*, does in his *private Capacity*; just so much for your Penny, and no more, will you get of *Hans*, behind his Counter; and just as much for your Penny, and no more, will you obtain of their *High Mightinesses*, when assembled in a Body:
Accordingly,

Accordingly, we shall be sure, to have almost the *whole Burthen* of the War *thrown upon us* ; whilst the *Dutch*, by the Remittances, which must pass through their Hands, and the great Circulation of Money, our Army will occasion, in the *Low-Countries*, will be *little or no Sufferers*. Nay, should *all Intercourse*, between us and the *French*, be *stopt*, as must be, in case we *become Principals* in the War, (which now seems *unavoidable*,) they may *possibly* be *Gainers* thereby ; since we shall not be able to procure either *French Wines*, *Brandies*, *Brocades*, *Silks*, or *Cambricks*, those Articles of *Luxury*, we now have directly from *France*, (and from which our *Publick-spirited Nobility* and *Gentry*, will *not abstain*, though the *Safety* or *Ruin* of the Nation depended thereon) but, by the *Way of Holland* ; as the *French*, on the other Hand, must be beholding to the *Dutch*, for all the *English Commodities* they want.

We have seen, then, that the *Accession* of the *Dutch*, to our Measures, will be of *very little Benefit* to us ; and as for his *Prussian Majesty*, should he join his Troops to ours, it is very certain, he would expect a *considerable Subsidy* ; and from whence, in the Name of wonder, is all the Money to come ? Had we acted, indeed, as our *prudent Neighbours* did, and as every *wise Nation* would, during above *Twenty Years Peace*, that we *enjoy'd*, or at least, *might have enjoy'd*, had we so pleased ; had we *improved*, we say, that *happy Opportunity*, after their Example, by *easing the Subject*, in every *possible Respect* ; by *taking off* all the most *burthensome Taxes* ; by giving all *Manner of Encouragement* to our *Manufacturies*, and *American Colonies* ; by *keeping up* no *useless Land Forces*, at *Home*, and granting no *unnecessary Subsidies*, for *foreign Troops* abroad ; by *sitting out* no

peaceable Squadrons, for Raree-Shews, and Ridicule; by retrenching all needless Expences, and paying off, as fast as possible, all the publick Debts; especially such as were most grievous to the industrious Poor; had we done all this, we say once again, we might probably, now, have been in a Condition, to have engaged in another Ten Years Land War, had it been absolutely necessary; which can hardly ever be our Case, Thanks to divine Providence! But, after a Peace! such as we did enjoy; a Peace! with all the Inconveniencies, and none of the Advantages, of War! a Peace! wherein we paid, yearly, as much in Taxes, as during the War in Queen Anne's Reign, and sometimes more! a Peace! wherein we kept up a more numerous Army, and fitted out more formidable Fleets, than during that whole glorious Period! and yet a Peace! during which we suffered the most outrageous Insults! A Peace! in short, whereof it be truly said,

*In Vain the HARRASS'D Britons hop'd for EASE,
Whilst growing Taxes were the Fruits of PEACE.*

After such a Peace! we say, wherein we *connived* at the *Reparation* of the Harbour of *Dunkirk*; at our *Wool's* being *openly* conveyed from us, and our *Men* *inlited* into the *Service* of the *French*, for *Fear* of *provoking* them; in short, a Peace! during which we have suffered *almost every Branch* of our *Trade* to be *lost*, whilst scarce a Penny of our Debts, have been paid off, what *Probability* is there, of our *bearing up* under a tedious *Land-War*? It would be mere *Madness* to think of it.

In Effect, we must commence a War, at present, at ten Times the *Disadvantage*, as *formerly*; we are not only *much weaker*, but our Enemies *much stronger*, than in the Reigns of *King William*, or our late *excellent Queen*. At that Juncture,
his

his present *Catholick Majesty*, *Philip V.* was but *just advanced* to the *Throne of Spain*; and there was a *powerful Party* in the Kingdom, who were *not very well satisfied* with his Promotion; but were disposed to *revolt*, as soon as they could be assured of being supported, which they accordingly did. But the Case is quite different now, when the *Spaniards* have been accustomed to his Sway, above Forty Years, and the Crown is *firmly settled* on his Head: Add to this, that the his Subjects having been *inured to War*, for a long Term of Years, there are now several Thousands of *hardy Veterans*, and *excellent Officers*, amongst them; whereas they were before, almost as *wretched Soldiers*, as the *Portuguese*.

Again, by the late *unfortunate Cession* of *Lorraine*, (which was, in a great Measure, owing to our *Supineness*, and *Indolence*;) *France* has acquired an *undoubted Right*, to that *fertile and rich Dutchy*; the *Possession* of which, by Reason of its *happy Situation*, is of *infinite Importance*: In Effect, it is not only a *considerable Addition*, in point of *Strength*, to the *French Crown*, as it can raise and maintain 25,000 Men; but as it secures their Frontier, on that Side where it was most exposed; and may be made, at the same Time, a *Key*, to let the *Armies of France* into the *Empire*, when they please; and before the *Germans* can have any Notice of their Design, or put themselves in a Posture of Defence. By the Accession, therefore, of this Dutchy, it is evident, that *France* is much more powerful, than at the Beginning of the late War; and if she was, then, able to support a *constant Series* of *ill-Success*, and so many *signal Defeats*, for *Ten Years*, what may she not now do? Yet again, the *French*, at that Time, had *little or no Trade*; and consequently were *less able to bear*

such *terrible Overthrows*, and the *heavy Taxes*, their Prince was thereby necessitated, to lay upon them : Whereas they have *now* a *very flourishing*, and *extended Commerce*, insomuch, that they have, in a great Measure, *supplanted us* in divers of the *most beneficial Branches* thereof, particularly in our Trade to *Spain, Turkey, and the Levant*.

But, to add our Misfortune, the *French* are not only *much stronger*, than they were at the beginning of the late War, but we are *much weaker*, in several Respects ; we were not only *heartily assisted* then, by the *Emperor, the Dutch, and the Duke of Savoy*, but by *Denmark, and the several Princes of the Empire, as Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, &c.* And, which was no *inconsiderable Advantage*, our Armies were then *headed by a Marlborough, and an Eugene*, that is, *Two of the greatest Generals* the World ever produced. Besides, our Trade was then in a *very prosperous Condition*, and we had *no Rivals of any Consequence* therein ; so that it was a *continual Source of Riches* to us, and *enabled us* to support many *heavy Taxes* ; and to crown all, our *Debts* were then but *very trifling*.

Whilst we were in this *happy State*, neither *overburthen'd with Debts, nor grievous Taxes*, the *inseparable Consequences* thereof, it was no wonder, if we did venture to *engage in a Land-War* ; especially, when it was not only to prevent all *Europe's* being over-run by *France*, but to oppose the *Imposition of a bigotted Tyrant* upon us ; and *revenge a most unpardonable Affront*, to the late Queen, by proclaiming the *Pretender, rightful Sovereign* of these Kingdoms, in *direct Violation* of the Treaty of *Ryswick*. These, it must be owned, by all, were *notorious Provocations*, and *very urgent Reasons*, for exerting our selves in an extraordinary Manner ; and yet, every one knows, when
that

that War was spun out to a *great Length*, how *heartily weary* the Nation grew of it, and what Clamours it occasioned ; notwithstanding the *Glo-ry* we were every Day acquiring, (a Thing highly agreeable to the *British* Nation) and the *unparallell'd*, and *uninterrupted*, *Success* that attended our Arms.

In Effect, what did *Great Britain* gain, by that *Profusion* of *Blood* and *Treasure*, so *prodigally lavish'd* in that War ? Are *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*, an Equivalent, for the Thousands of brave Men, who lost their Lives, and above a Hundred Millions of Money expended therein ? Don't we *still groan*, under the *intolerable Pressure*, of the *Debts* contracted on that Occasion ? And are we *now entering upon Measures*, which *must probably* cost us *as much more* ? Must not the Consequence be *inevitable Ruin* ? And, after we are *well drained* of our Men and Money, and the *little Trade* we have left is *entirely lost*, (as it must be in all Likelyhood,) must we not, of Course, *fall an easy Prey* to the *first Invader* ? Such is the *melancholy Scene* we have now before us.

Our *gracious Sovereign*, who has been *made constantly to believe*, that we are a *very rich*, and *flourishing People*, that *Great Britain* is an *inexhaustible Mine of Wealth* ; and that all *Opposition* to his *Measures*, (as all the most pernicious ministerial Schemes, have been *modestly called*,) proceeded solely from our *enjoying too much Liberty*, and *Plenty*, is not apprized, of the *wretched Condition*, of his *faithful Subjects* ; but, in all probability, imagines us, to be *naturally a turbulent, dissatisfied*, and even *seditious Nation*. Nor is this any Wonder, if we *consider*, for how many Years, he was suffered to see *only through the Eyes*, and to hear *only through the Ears*, of ONE, who was, *demonstrably*,

trably, in an *open Conspiracy*, against the *Liberties* and *Prosperity* of his Country. When we consider this, we say, and at the same Time, *reflect*, that even the *most destructive* of his Measures, the *Excise Scheme*, if common Report may be credited, was represented to his Majesty, as a *most salutary* and *beneficial Project*, calculated purely to prevent the *most notorious Frauds*, and *improve the public Revenue*; and that it was *render'd abortive*, only by a *Combination* of STURDY BEGGARS, grown *wanton*, through *too much Affluence*; wanting to be *humbled*; And supported by a *disaffected Party*, in *both Houses*; where is the wonder, if our Prince, who judges of others, by his own *noble* and *generous Soul*, should be *prepossessed* with *Notions*, *not much to our Advantage*; and should think, we are well able, to bear the *Expence* and *Burthen*, of the *present Land-War*?

But, were he made *truly* acquainted, with the *real State* of these unhappy Kingdoms; that they are so far, from *being capable* of *Struggling* with any *fresh Load*, that they are already just *sinking*, under the *Weight* of their present *heavy Taxes*; and that the least *additional Pressure* must infallibly put the *finishing Stroke* to their *Ruin*; that a *Land-War*, is of all Measures, the *most likely* to *compleat* our *Destruction*; as it must necessarily *impoverish*, and *infeeble* us the most, by being a *continual Drain*, both of our *Treasure*, and *most able bodied men*; whereas, in a *Sea-War*, much the greatest Part, of the *Provision*, and all the *Warlike Stores*, are taken in *at Home*, or sent after the Fleet in *Tenders*; and the Ships being constantly paid off, in our own Ports, the Money is always expended *amongst* ourselves, which creates a *quick Circulation*, and *brisk inland Trade*; Two Circumstances highly *worthy* the *Consideration* of an almost ex-
hausted

hausted People: Add to this, that in the *most bloody and unfortunate Sea-War*, we ever engaged in, the *yearly Loss of Sailors*, was never *near equal to that of Soldiers*, in any one of the Campaigns, under King *William*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, or in *Spain*; on the contrary, that generally speaking, it never required *half the Number* of Sea-men, to recruit the Navy, as it did of Land-men, to *repair the Losses* of the Army :

Were his Majesty, we say, made *fully sensible*, of this our *wretched Condition*, and of all these *Disadvantages* of a *Land-War* ; as also, of the *great Advantage*, our Superiority, by Sea, gives us over our Enemies : We are well assured, he is a Prince of so much *Humanity* and *Prudence*, as likewise so *tenderly concerned* for the *Welfare* of his *People*, he would never engage us in a Step, which must necessarily prove so *fatal* to us, should the War be protracted to any Length. In Effect, though, we are aware, this Position will be thought *very odd*, by most Folks, we will venture to affirm, that it is neither the *true Interest* of his Majesty himself, nor of his *German Dominions*, to involve *Great Britain*, in a *consuming Land-War* ; on the contrary, that even the *Safety* of the former, is now dependant, in some Measure, upon the *Welfare* of the latter ; or, in other Words, that the *Ruin of these Kingdoms*, must necessarily, and inevitably, draw after them, the *Ruin* of the *Electorate of Hanover*, with all the Territories annex'd thereto.

To make this plain, we shall only observe, what has been advanced before, that so much *exhausted*, as we are already, by the Decay of our Trade, our numerous and heavy *Taxes* and *Debts*, it will be *impossible* for us, long to support, a War upon the Continent, without *sinking under the*
Weight

Weight of it: That, on the contrary, our Enemies, having taken Advantage of the long *Peace* they enjoy'd, to pay off most Part of their *Debts*, and give all Manner of Encouragement to Trade, in all its Branches, by easing the *Manufacturer* of the most burthensome Taxes, and not only discouraging, but even prohibiting the Wear of all foreign Merchandize, (in which Piece of sound policy, and public Spirit, we have always been too wise to follow their Example) are better able, now to support, another *Ten Years War*, than they were in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*; even though it should prove as unsuccessful, as that, in the time of their late *Grand Monarque*; which is altogether unlikely. Let us suppose, then, for once, that our Armies will be blest'd, with as uninterrupted Success, as in the the late *Queen's* Reign, though that is highly improbable; the infallible Consequence of that would be, that we should at last sink under our own Efforts, and be forced to clap up a Peace at any Rate; for, such prodigious Sums of Money, must be sent yearly out of the Kingdom, to pay our Forces, whilst, the little Trade, we have yet left, would be then entirely lost, as it certainly must, that the *Ballance* would be greatly against us; and we should be so far, from recruiting ourselves thereby, that other considerable Remittances, must be made abroad, to pay the Overplus; so that these Two continual Drains of our Treasure, would, in a few Years, exhaust us of all our Specie; which rendering us utterly unable, to carry on even a defensive War, must leave us an easy Prey, to the first Invader. And, as we are sensible, our good Neighbours, whom we have been, so long, wisely contributing to aggrandize, don't want the Inclination, if they had but the Power, we must soon become a Province to them. This, we say, is the

the *evident Consequence*, of our *persisting*, in the Prosecution of a *Land-War*; and, should this ever be our *melancholy Case*, which *Heaven forbid*, we leave any one to judge, whether the *Electorate* of *Hanover*, must not follow of Course; especially, as, it is no Secret, that *our Enemies*, ascribe the *carrying the War*, into the *French Dominions*, to the *sole Influence*, and *Direction*, of our most gracious Sovereign.

F I N I S.



